

popular, earned him a nickname. Some called him "St. Paul." Now St. Paul has gone on to meet St. Peter. And I suspect he is still working, trying to arrange some divine intervention to help us balance the budget.

Years ago, when Paul Tsongas still sat in this Chamber, he spoke to a reporter about his hopes for his political career. He admitted that he might like to be President, if the opportunity were given to him.

But, he said, "if it turns out that my job in this business is to help provide direction—if that's what I end up being remembered for while someone else carries the ball—well, I could live with that. With a severe pang every once in a while, but I could live with that."

Paul Tsongas gave us a sense of direction. He lived with purpose and passion. And we will all miss him.

Today, our thoughts and prayers go out to Senator Tsongas immediate family, to his twin sister, Thaleia Schlesinger and stepsister Victoria Peters, and to those who remember him as we remember him today. And we thank him for that.

#### FAREWELL AND THANKS TO SENATE PAGES

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I would like to say farewell and thanks to this class of Senate pages. Tomorrow is graduation day, and I know many of their parents are in town today and tomorrow for that special occasion.

Their job is a difficult one, with most days beginning long before the Senate convenes—early in the morning—and continuing until after the Senate adjourns, which quite often is late at night.

I thank them for their service. I wish them well.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the 1996 fall pages, which was a historic time to be a page, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the names were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### 1996 FALL PAGES

##### *Republicans:*

Begin, Mary—Rhode Island  
Diehl, Ryan—Washington  
Haliwanger, James—South Carolina  
Heydt, Zachary—Wyoming  
Lyon, Morgan—Utah  
Poole, Robert—Alabama  
Ruff, Justin—South Carolina  
Sperry, Kelly—Utah  
Ulbrich, Brad—Delaware  
Vongsasonh, Power—Rhode Island  
Wachtel, Sarah—Vermont  
Walden, Michelle—Mississippi  
Weyher, Mercedes—Utah

##### *Democrats:*

Bravman, Rachel—Massachusetts  
Crow, Cameron—South Dakota  
Fitzgerald, Taylor—Montana  
Golden, Lewis—Mississippi  
Kitzmiller, Amy—Vermont  
McMenamin, Amanda—Maryland  
McMillan, Kevin—California  
Schultz, Melissa—New Mexico  
Sheldon, Kathryn—Wisconsin

Sydnor, Nathan—Virginia  
Wright, William—Maryland  
Zukas, Nathan—Wisconsin

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATE PAGES

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, today the Senate must bid farewell to a great group of young people who served as U.S. Senate pages during the fall semester.

These young men and women from across the country witnessed history during their service to the Senate. Among other things, this class of pages saw the inauguration of President Clinton, the first Democrat to be reelected President since Franklin Roosevelt. They also were here for the confirmation of the first woman to become Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright.

These pages witnessed the final weeks of Senate service of our colleagues who retired at the end of the 104th Congress, many giants of the Senate among them. In the last few weeks, they also saw the swearing in, the first speeches, and the first votes of our new freshmen Senators, any one of whom may be a Senate giant of the future.

Having seen our debates and deliberations up close, this group of pages will take away from here many memories and valuable learning experiences. But they also should take with them our gratitude for everything they have done for us and recognition for a job well done.

Mr. President, a page's life is not easy. They are up before dawn, at page school at 6:15, then here in the Senate for the rest of the day. While they are here, their duties run the gamut. They help set up the Chamber, deliver messages all over the Capitol complex, help things work here on the Senate floor, and pack up the Chamber at the end of the day. Then, it is back to the dorm for homework, a little down time, and a little sleep before they wake up and do it again the next day.

On behalf of all Democratic Senators, I would like to thank the following Democratic pages for all their hard work and contributions to the Senate: Rachel Bravman of Massachusetts; Cameron Crow of South Dakota; Taylor Fitzgerald of Montana; Lewis Golden of Mississippi; Amy Kitzmiller of Vermont; Amanda McMenamin of Maryland; Kevin McMillan of California; Melissa Schultz of New Mexico; Kathryn Sheldon of Wisconsin; Nathan Sydnor of Virginia; William Wright of Maryland; and Nathan Zukas of Wisconsin.

I hope that each member of this page class takes back to his or her home State a better understanding of how this government works and a better appreciation of the need to work together to achieve a common goal. These young people are our future leaders. Measured by their brief service here in the U.S. Senate, we can all feel confident about our country's future. Perhaps someday, one or more of them

will return as Members of the U.S. Senate.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank the Chair.

First of all, let me associate myself with the remarks of the minority leader. I never really had a chance to serve with Senator Tsongas, and I really never had a chance to get to know him, but it is hard not to admire his work. He will be missed by his family and loved ones, and he will also be missed by our country. As a Senator from Minnesota, I certainly want to send my love to Paul Tsongas' family.

#### CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, for just a brief period of time today, I want to talk about reform because I think the whole issue of the mix of money and politics and what we are going to do to change the system is going to become the key issue of this 105th Congress.

People have been reading in the newspapers and they have been hearing on the radio or they have been seeing on TV all sorts of comment about the abuses which took place in this past campaign. My argument is that these abuses are embedded in the very ways in which we finance our campaigns.

What has happened—and I do not think any of us should fool ourselves here, whether we are Republicans or Democrats—is that to most of the people in the country, from Pennsylvania to Minnesota to California, it does not even look like elections; it looks like auctions, and I think all too many people believe that national political leaders are for sale.

I would like to say today on the floor of the Senate that I do not believe that is the case. I do not want to have anything to do with bashing of people in public service. I believe in public service. That is why I am here. That is why we are here.

I also want to say today on the floor of the Senate that as a matter of fact we are talking about a certain kind of corruption, not as in the wrongdoing of individual officeholders, but it is systemic, and it is more serious. It has to do with the ways in which money determines what issues are on the table. It has to do with the ways in which money determines who has the disproportionate amount of access to decisionmaking. It has to do with the relationship between money and political clout. It has to do with the political system where too few people probably have too much wealth, power and say and the vast majority of the people feel locked out, not well represented.

I would argue that the way big money has come to dominate politics has become the ethical issue of our time. I say to all of my colleagues—I make this appeal, and I want to follow

up on this appeal with every bit of leverage I have as a Senator—that all of us in office should hate this system. On the one hand, it is a bit like the play “Fiddler on the Roof”—you can argue that, well, no, people should not hate the system because in a way the current system is wired for incumbents. They can raise more money. But I really think all of us should hate this system, because even if you believe in your heart of hearts, even if you are absolutely convinced that the compelling need to raise money never has affected any position you have taken on any issue, even if you believe that, and hopefully it is the case, it sure does not look that way to people. If we want people to believe in this political process, and we want people to believe in our work, and we want people to believe in the Congress, and we want people to believe in us, then we better get this big money out of politics and we better turn this system not upside down—it is upside down right now—we better turn this system right side up.

It is just crystal clear. The spending continues to skyrocket, and in 1996 spending was up and participation down—more disillusionment, more indignation, more people in the country losing faith in the elections and losing faith in this political process.

There are any number of different approaches that can be taken, and I want to talk about three. I have for the better part of last year, year and a half, worked with Senators FEINGOLD and MCCAIN, Senator Kassebaum was involved in this—she will be sorely missed—Senator THOMPSON, Senator GRAHAM, and this effort, this piece of legislation, which still keeps too many big private dollars in politics, sure represents a very important and positive step forward: getting rid of all the soft money, all of the huge amounts of money that people can contribute in the name of party building, getting the costs of campaigns down, voluntary spending limits, some resources for candidates to help challengers. It goes in the right direction, and I will work hard with Senator MCCAIN and Senator FEINGOLD.

There is a separate issue of soft money and all the ways in which people can contribute huge amounts of money, way beyond any spending limit, again, all in the name of party building. With more time, I will go into all of this in specifics. We ought to abolish that. And that would be a focus of mine. I will have a bill on soft money.

In the best of all worlds, if you want to talk about desirability, I will tell you something. People in the country are in a downright anti-status-quo mood, and I really think we ought to model ourselves after what Maine has done. Maine led the Nation. Maine passed the clean money option. And I will be introducing a bill, I hope with other Senators, as well, that essentially says, look, we are going to get all of the interested money out, and what we are going to essentially say to

people in the country is, look, for around \$5 per person, how about a system where the people own the elections? It is your election. And because it is your capital, it becomes your Government and we move all of this interested, big, private money out. We really do have a level playing field between challengers and incumbents, and we really do have clean money politics.

I think that is the best system of all, and I look forward to introducing that bill with other Senators and pushing that forward as well.

A final point. It may be that none of these approaches in their entirety will pass the Senate. And other people will have other ideas.

But first, to people in the country who might be watching, and I will figure out other ways of having a wider forum: You have to turn up the heat, people. The citizens in this country have to turn up the heat. On February 22, in Minnesota, we are going to have a town meeting, hopefully with the whole congressional delegation. Lots of people are going to be there from Minnesota. They are going to come, and they are going to say: Senators and Representatives, we may not know all the specifics of each bill, but we want reform. We want you to change this system. We are tired of all the big money and we are tired of all the vicious attacks.

People need to turn up the heat. I think we need something like Earth Day. I think we need Reform Day. I think we need to have congressional delegations from every State meeting with people back in the States on the same day within the next couple of months, because this Congress has to take action. And anybody listening, citizens who are listening, it has to happen in the first 100 days, because if it does not happen at the beginning of this Congress, the atmosphere is going to become poisonous. There will be finger pointing and accusations on both sides. Everybody is going to try to figure out their own angle, and it will not get done. But this is the time for the reform. Let us move towards real grassroots citizen action.

Second, President Clinton, it is important for you to be outspoken. Presidential leadership, Presidential power—you need to push for the reform. Both parties have made plenty of mistakes. There have been plenty of transgressions. There is plenty of wrong, and the accusations can go back and forth in perpetuity. Why do we not, once and for all, change the system?

Finally, for myself, at the beginning of this Congress—for a short period of time I had an interesting discussion with both leaders in which I maintained I did not know whether we should even go into recess. I thought between January 7 and January 20 we ought to focus just on reform. Now we have another recess period coming up in mid-February. I think we need to give very serious thought to focusing on reform at the very beginning. I am

going to try to use whatever leverage I have as a Senator to push in that direction.

In the Labor and Human Resources Committee the other day I suggested another possibility. Again, these are just proposals as we try to figure out how we can move this process forward. I suggested that maybe, until we have the reform, what we need to do in every committee is to have people come in and testify, file written testimony as to whether or not they have given contributions or the organizations they represent have given contributions to the members of the committee in the year prior to testimony and the year after testimony. I do not know whether that is something to push forward and have a vote on or not.

But I think, again, all of these approaches are not efforts to point the finger at a Senator or Representative. That is bashing. I want nothing to do with it. Or, for that matter, at anybody who is testifying. But I want to bring into sharp focus what is wrong with this process, the perceptions people have about it around the country, all the ways in which it has undercut democracy. You cannot have all of these huge amounts of money pouring into politics and elections and at the same time have real democracy where each person counts as one and no more than one. This is the compelling issue for this Congress.

Mr. President, we have to take action.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. MURRAY. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mrs. MURRAY pertaining to the introduction of S. 200 are located in today's RECORD under “Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.”)

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHCROFT). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask that I be allowed to speak for 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### OPPORTUNITIES IN THE NEW CONGRESS

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, it is sort of exciting to begin to move into a